/43 cont./

241 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting
433 is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle
462 hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the cate-
462 gories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions
361 are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live
[221] in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at
361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season,
62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous
[114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [22] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 101 three large tribes of the Yavahẽ, Karayahi, and Šambioa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahẽ are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahẽ. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/14 cont./

Way of Life. Food and Its Preparation

433 Like most South American tribes, the Karaya are first of all fishermen, but, in addition, carry on a not insignificant agriculture.
226 [221] The principal season for fishing is the dry months from May to October, when the larger fish strive toward the deeper parts of the river, the so-called poços, which are formed in particular above the small rapids and the masses of rock projecting out here and there.

The fish kingdom of the Araguaia, in all of the middle course, already bears throughout the character of the fauna of Amazonas. The giant three-meter long pirarucú/arapaima/ (Sudis gigas) is common everywhere, as is the electric eel (Gymnotus electricus) and the thick-bodied pirarara (Phractocephalus discolor) armored with its strong shield of bone. The poços abound with cannibalistic piranhas; in the shallow places along the bank the no less feared thornback, buried in the sand, lies in wait for its prey.

[262] Prized as the tastiest fish are the blue-grey spotted pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), reaching up to two meters in length, the matrincham /Caracinidae/, the tucunaré (Cichla temensis), the trahira (Macrodon), and various species of the pacu (Myletes). Certain fish, particularly scaleless ones, are not pursued because of superstitious fear, and likewise the fresh-water dolphins,
[225] present everywhere in great numbers. Tortoises and their delicious eggs, however, are hunted all the more zealously.

At high water, when the fish are no longer easy to get in the clay-yellow flood, the many lagoons along the river provide the most productive fishing places. They form large natural traps for the larger species, in which they can easily be isolated.
[439] /15/ Whereas formerly the fish were killed almost exclusively with an arrow, angling is now used more and more, since hooks are imported in large quantities. In many places, however, angling and net fishing cannot be done because of the countless piranhas whose teeth cannot be withstood by any line or net.

/189 cont./

about five years; it is inhabited by civilized Indians who prefer the advantages of civilization (tobacco, salt) to living together in the tribe.

Between the two hordes there is an intervening space of a six and a half days' boat-trip (calculated downstream). As the reason for the unhabited state of this intervening area the Indians told me that they lived here on the high banks only during the rainy season, that in the dry season only a few and poor sandbanks were exposed and there were a great many mosquitoes; two facts which I am able to confirm. As a transit area, however, it is busily used; on both the journey upstream and downstream I came across migratory villages here in both directions.

Thus we come to 23 fixed villages.

The size of the villages varies greatly. In the north horde there were villages with one to eight houses; altogether I counted about 80 houses, so that on the average there were five to six houses to a village. In the south horde there were villages with one to four houses. Altogether I counted about 20 houses, so that on the average there were two to three houses to a village. The number of houses in both hordes together is therefore only about 100.

The number of inhabitants likewise varies. There were:

	North Horde	Koru-mare's Village	South Horde	Total	Immi-grant Šavajé	Total
Men:						
Adults	114	–	27	141	3	144
Youths	57	–	15	72	1	73
Boys (1-12 years old)	141	–	28	169	1	170
Total	312	ca. 20	70	402	5	407
Women:						
Adults	164	–	38	202	7	209
Maidens	22	–	12	34	3	37
Girls (1-12 years old)	129	–	28	157	1	158
Total	315	ca. 20	78	413	11	424
Total for both sexes	627	ca. 40	148	815	16	831

/191 cont./

175 Mortes there are three villages, the first of which lies 38 leagues,
131 the second 30 leagues, and the third directly above the Rio das
361 Mortes (3). Rufino, too, in 1846/47 found Karajá villages (nine)

3. Vol. 1, p. 395; Vol. 2, p. 114.

only along Bananal Island, the most southerly of which lay nine
175 days below the southern end of Bananal. In 1863 Couto de
167 Magalhães made a new attempt to settle Chavánte and Karajá
648 in a village near Salinas, in order to introduce them to civiliza-
361 tion here. It was this settlement, in connection with the further advance of Brazilian civilization toward the west, that seems to have led the Karajá to settle south of Bananal Island. Thus, Moraes Jardim and Spinola in 1880 mention the first village of the Karajá from the south as near São José, then a second village at the mouth of the Rio Crixá. There follow 18 villages on Bananal, beginning on the Lago dos Chavántes and with a village
[162] near Santa Maria at the end. These 21 villages were said to have about 600 inhabitants.

175 Ehrenreich mentions the following villages in 1888: Between
361 Leopoldina and the Rio Crixá a camp with a few tents was found.
[162] Near Schischá there was a village of about 30 persons on a sand-
bank. He found the ranchos near São José, which were inhabited
●[221] by the Indians during the rainy season, deserted in August. There was another village on the Rio Crixá. North of the southern tip of Bananal he lists the following villages: Above the Rio das Mortes three villages, near Izabel do Morro four villages, from there to the mouth of the Tapirapé six villages, and below the Tapirapé mouth six more villages, the last of which lay isolated
[721] on the north end of Bananal. The formerly northernmost settlement near Santa Maria was, according to his account, attacked by the Kayapó in 1881 (in 1859, according to Coudreau, p. 136), destroyed, and, as a consequence, definitely given up by the
[162] Karajá. The north horde, therefore, according to him, occupied 19 villages, whereas the south horde occupied two to four villages. Cavalcanti in 1895 gives the following villages for the south horde:

/191 cont./

195 The first village on an island opposite Chicas (probably identical
361 with Schischá) with two houses, the /192/ second village on a sandbank opposite São José with four houses, another village on the mouth of the Rio Crixá under the chief Pedro Manco.

The accounts of Coudreau in 1896/97 for the south horde, about whom he reports only information given to him, are even more inexact than for the north horde. He mentions two villages [162] for the rainy season: one near São José with eleven houses and 60 inhabitants, the other near Schischá with 17 houses and 40 [221] inhabitants. The large number of houses and inhabitants shows how the Indians gather together in a few larger villages during the rainy season. This shows, however, that the south horde was already strengthened.

361 In 1908 I myself found the first village near Leopoldina, the
[162] second near Schischá, the third above, the fourth in São José (a house occupied by Indians), the fifth on the Lago de Café, the sixth above, the seventh below the mouth of the Rio Crixá, the eighth on the Lago de Luiz Alves: altogether, 19 houses and 148 inhabitants.

193 According to stories of the Indians of the south horde, the
169 first Karajá here, those of São José, were supposed to have come
[622] from the north. The first chief who immigrated here was mănĕkōkŏ. He found the land uninhabited. When he died, the Indians continued to live here under another chief, Xavier. Among his people there was kūlĭ, the chief of village 3. kūlĭ seems to be about 60 years old. I do not know whether he was born here. At any rate, the immigration took place before his time, in other words, in about the first half of the nineteenth century. According to [361] the Indians, šišă consisted of one hut 20-30 years ago; later several Indians from the north moved in. The village near Leopoldina is said to have been founded about five years ago; the people formerly lived in šăndălăbĕ (on the Rio das Mortes, or the Barreira de Izabel Velha, or near Izabel do Morro).

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] [340] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

621 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is sufficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first [578] [571] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north [166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 484 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 361 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/203 cont./

22 in their dryness and cleanliness, are ideal dwelling sites. In the
361 course of the dry season and within a certain area, they migrate from sandbank to sandbank as each of them becomes exposed by the river, so that in this way they always have fresh, unspoiled, clean dwelling-sites. With the beginning of the rainy season the villages are moved back again to the higher initial sandbanks and finally to the high banks of the river (2).

2. This explains the many abandoned villages that one comes across everywhere.

/204/ These rainy-season villages, lying up on the campo, are often far from the river; in the case of the north horde, they lie in part in mountains and are therefore difficult to find. This and the practice that several dry-season villages live together in a campo village probably explain the small number of Karajá villages mentioned by Coudreau.

361 If the villages are permanently abandoned, the houses, the
356 poles of the mat walls and storage racks, the roasting grates, hearths, etc. are left standing; they very quickly disintegrate. Villages abandoned for a short time (for example, during trading expeditions) are made secure by closing the entrances of the houses with leaf walls. All the household equipment, such as pots, baskets, etc., is piled up at the sides and covered with large mats. In front of the houses, manioc stalks, tied in bundles of five or six pieces, are usually planted in the sand. Palm fronds are stuck into the ground all around for protection, and the whole is then tied together. For the rest, wild disorder prevails in such abandoned villages. Large pots lie about upside down, often protecting smaller ones underneath. Mortars, gourd vessels, and scraps of baskets lie about
[824] here and there, and everywhere there are large heaps of manioc remains, nut shells, turtle shells, and finally urucú fruits, without which no journey can be undertaken (see greeting painting /see pp.100 -104/).

/245 cont./

262 The eggs are longish and have an odor and taste somewhat re-
222 sembling train oil. The tartaruga (kŏdūnĭ) and its eggs (kōdūnĭzĭ),
[221] on the other hand, are eaten with great relish. /246/ For them,
the Indians undertake distant boat journeys up the tributaries of
the Araguaya in September to October, the laying period of this
turtle, which deposits up to 160 round eggs in a nest. All the
sandbanks are investigated and the often numerous nests emptied
(on the Tapirapé I found up to four nests on small sandbanks).
Thus, they gather quite enormous quantities of eggs. These are
[251] either eaten raw or they are cooked and dried in the ashes and
439 then kept for a long time, so that the Indians take them home,
437 eat them later at leisure, or are able to sell them in the Brazilian
towns (Santa Maria, Conceição) on trading expeditions, which
[225] they undertake in September and October. The turtles them-
selves are taken by surprise while laying, or in shallow water they
are caught with the hands by diving from boats or with iron
bottom-tackle. The turtles are brought home alive in great
231 quantities from these expeditions and then eaten or sold. In order
to be able to keep them for a longer time, cages are built out of
twigs bent together at the top, which are stuck in the sand in a
circle, providing shade for them. Here they are tethered and kept
until they are consumed (Ill. 6). Small turtles are raised in the
villages as a pastime.

262 Ostrich eggs (nâŭĕkĭĕzĭ) are eaten with great relish. The
222 Indians empty the entire nest and take the eggs home with them
in order to eat them cooked there.

222 Honey (bădĕrhõ) is a delicacy of which they are passionately
fond. On their boat trips they observe the direction of flight of
the wild bees (bēdĭ), designated by them as stingless, until, after
a short time, they have discovered their nests high up in the
crowns of trees. Quickly the tree is climbed and the nest cut down
[415] with the bush knife or ax. The honey is then taken out down below;
it is stored in bent pieces of bark or in gourd vessels. Bees nesting
in hollow trees are smoked out and the honey is taken out with the
hand. The often giant honeycombs are individually sucked out;

/246 cont./

222 [237] [432] the wax (tăbōlă)[1] is stored in large lumps; it constitutes one of their most important gluing and packing mediums and as such is everywhere offered in quantities by the women to passing boats. The chief gathering period of the honey seems to commence in October.

224 [221] While the gathering of these foods is bound to specific seasons and requires journeys often weeks long, in order to collect large amounts, the daily animal food is obtained in short expeditions from the villages by means of all kinds of traps.

[433] [226] It should be noted that the hunting of birds and land animals is completely overshadowed by fishing. In general, of course, the land is poor in animals as compared to the water. There is only a little big game to be hunted: red deer (bŏlōlă), roe, tapirs [(k)ōlĭ], monkeys (1), wild pigs (ĭsă), and possibly

[237] [242] 1. Howling monkeys are shot only for the bones, which are used for arrow points, lip plugs, and arrows, but not for food.

also /247/ jaguars (ănlōă); smaller animals are more frequent, but very shy and difficult to hunt (agouti, tsŭsŏ; capybara, hūă, etc.).
223 The choice of birds is likewise not very large. Above all, gallinaceous birds (jacu, bĕdjŭă; mutum, etc.) and pigeons, as well as ducks (hăăkŏlĭnĭ, hĕdâulĕ, dōălălă) and divers, come into
242 consideration. I was unable to find out whether they eat ostriches, or how they feel about lizards, crocodiles, and boa constrictors, which Königswald reports are eaten. The small choice of game animals is even more restricted by all kinds of so-called food prohibitions. Thus, this person will not eat this animal, and that person that one. Some animals are generally not eaten, though
224 they could furnish a great deal of meat. Hunting only plays a secondary role in the economy of these Indians.

For wild game they set out individually or in company;
[222] wild pigs in particular are always hunted in company. It is strange that the chief never goes along on the hunt, though he does engage in fishing. Only large animals are hunted; the young ones are allowed to run away.

1 [i.e., bee's wax --Analyst]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

eyes from the strong reflection of the sun on the sand-bars. 293
When trading with travelers, they are eager to get blue or [439]
smoked glasses, or goggles.

The Karayá live in a more advanced state than do some 162
of the other tribes of the Amazon basin, especially the rough, 361
nomadic peoples, who exist in small groups of a few families.
They prefer to live in large groups containing hundreds of
individuals, and in permanent habitations, constituting fixed
villages or encampments. True, the Karayá living near San [221]
José, rove about somewhat in small parties during the dry
season; but farther down the Araguaya, the encampments
are more permanent and populous, numbering one hundred
fifty to two hundred souls. During the rainless season when 361
the river is low, they live on the sandy river bottoms, called
praias. Here they set up their easily portable huts, in order
to be convenient to their canoes and to the fishing grounds,
and also to be more free from troublesome insects.

The *villages* of the Karayáhy division, in common with
those of all other primitive peoples, are merely clusters or
groups of huts, huddled together in complete disorder. Each 342
hut is constructed by planting in the sand, fifteen or twenty
feet apart, two parallel rows of saplings, then bending over
each pair of opposites and tying them together. To these ribs
are bound bamboo rods in a horizontal position, *sipo*—creepers [283]
—being used as cordage; and upright poles are planted at the
gables. Over this frame-work is bound the skin, or covering, [824]
which consists of giant, feather-like palm-branches. Sometimes
plates, resting on forked posts, are used to further strengthen
the frame. This dwelling, when completed, is shaped like
the bottom of an inverted barge, and looks like a very squatty,
ancient haystack, with a hole—the door—eaten in one end
by cattle.

Garbage, such as watermelon rinds, pumpkin skins, green 364
corn cobs, and other fruit and vegetable refuse, is dumped
just outside the hut. Here, the mass festers and stinks in
the fierce rays of a tropical sun, and attracts swarms of [361]
insects, especially sand flies, that torment the nude savages

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

to color, then inject into the wounds a milky secretion taken from the skin of small frogs or toads. Therefore, when the new feathers grow out, they are of a brilliant yellow or orange color, without any mixture of blue or green, the natural color of the bird. It is said that when this new plumage is plucked, the next growth will still retain the new colors without further treatment. 232

Many of the mammals captured by the Karayá in infancy, become very tame. They are raised successfully, nursed either by a slut, or at the human breast. These tamed animals include various kinds of monkeys, the capibára, a rodent which becomes as large as a six-month old pig, agutís, picárres and tapirs. Of reptiles, the Karayá keep turtles, large lizards and alligators, the last named of which lie in pools of water on the sand bottoms, held captive by a cord around the body. The Karayáhy division has comparatively few domesticated creatures. 231 [184]

Like most of the South American tribes, the Karayá are primarily fishermen, obtaining their flesh food more from the river than from the forest. A few tribes, however, that do not live near streams of any importance, are compelled to rely almost wholly upon the chase for their meat, and so become more expert hunters than fishermen. As elsewhere stated, all the aborigines of South America, except the nomadic tribes, engage in agriculture to some extent, though to a very limited degree, except where they have obtained axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives from the civilized people. 433

The best time to fish along the Araguaya is during the rainless months from May to November, when the water is low, for when it rises, the fish are much more difficult to catch. During low water, the larger fish seek out the deep places in the river, where they may be easily taken. These places, which are well known to the natives, are above the smaller rapids, and also where there are certain rock formations which make deep holes, called *pocos* by the Brazilians. 221 226

The fish of the Araguaya have the same characteristics as those of the Amazon valley in general. The giant pire, 226 136